

Excerpts from Gluck's *Alceste*, Copied and Revised by Hector Berlioz

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The survival of Gluck's operas owes much to the efforts of Hector Berlioz. The present manuscript is an important document of some of those efforts, the culmination of a lifetime of experience and thought, to preserve *Alceste*.

In this work, the problems were different from those in the now more famous *Orphée*, where the role of Orpheus, originally intended for an alto castrato, has, since its revival in 1859 under Berlioz, usually been sung by a female contralto. The role of Alceste was originally intended for a soprano, but the great mezzo-soprano, Pauline Viardot,¹ whose voice Berlioz considered ideal for the part, required transposition--a procedure which Berlioz, a purist in the matter of honoring Gluck's intentions, accepted as a necessity and, in his adaptation of the part, took great pains to carry out with fidelity to the original.

In a letter of May 7, 1943, to Adolphe Boschot, Alfred Cortot mentioned "a manuscript of airs from the two *Alceste* versions written for Pauline Viardot" as among the collection of autograph documents of Hector Berlioz in his possession. The origin of the manuscript is clear, since at the foot of the first page Cortot has written: "This version of scenes from Gluck's *Alceste* combining the Italian *Alceste* with the French *Alceste* was probably undertaken for Pauline Viardot. This manuscript was sold by Paul Viardot² to the person from whom I had it. A. C."³

The seventy-five-page manuscript is in Berlioz's hand throughout, apart from the pagination and certain annotations.⁴ It contains a coherent sequence of six movements from *Alceste* in orchestral score on fourteen-stave paper. The movements appear in the following order:

No. 1 [Récitatif d'Alceste] "Grands dieux soutenez mon courage" [Act III, scene 3, French version⁵], pp. 1-11.

No. 2 [Aria d'Alceste] "Qui me parle?" [Act II, scene 1, Italian version translated into French⁶].

No. 3 Choeur de dieux infernaux invisibles⁷ [Act II, scene 3, "Choeur des dieux infernaux," French version⁸], pp. 30-32.

No. 4 Air [Alceste] "Ah! divinités implacables" [Act III, scene 3, French version⁹], pp. 33-41.

No. 5 Air [Un dieu infernal] "Caron t'appelle" [Act III, scene 4, French version¹⁰], pp. 42-52.

No. 6 Air [Alceste] "Divinités du Styx"/"Ombres, larves" [Act I, scene 7, French version superimposed on the Italian version translated¹¹], pp. 53-75.

It is striking that two of the six movements which make up the Viardot manuscript show borrowings from the Italian version translated into French by Berlioz. Three of the six, furthermore, have been transposed down a minor third: No. 3 (D Minor, from the original F Minor), No. 4 (D Major, from the original F Major), and No. 6 (G Major, from the original B-flat Major). These details immediately suggest a direct relationship between the manuscript and the edition of *Alceste* published for the revival of the work at the Paris Opéra on October 21, 1861, with Pauline Viardot in the title role. That edition in fact contains most of the distinctive elements of the Viardot manuscript.¹² But if the manuscript was used in preparing that revival, why did Berlioz only recopy scenes 3 and 4 of Act III and the final air of Act I? The question of the precise purpose of the manuscript remains open. When and for what occasion was it prepared? What light does it shed on Berlioz's lifelong opposition to those who treated what Gluck wrote with anything short of the most scrupulous

respect?

To answer these questions we must examine the manuscript in the light of Berlioz's writings on Gluck. Concerning *Alceste* in particular, these writings extend from the article in the *Gazette musicale de Paris* in 1834¹³ to the series of articles in the *Journal des Débats* in 1861,¹⁴ reprinted in the volume *A travers chants*.¹⁵ These last articles partly reproduce a comparative study of the two versions of the opera which Berlioz had written in the same newspaper in 1835.¹⁶ In addition there is information to be found in his correspondence, his *Traité d'instrumentation et d'orchestration modernes* and his *Mémoires*.

Before pursuing the analysis of the Viardot manuscript, we should note that the last complete performance of *Alceste* at the Paris Opéra was given on September 20, 1826.¹⁷ Thereafter only *Orphée*, performed incomplete at long intervals, kept Gluck's name in the repertory of the Académie Royale de Musique. In 1835 the almost total disappearance of Gluck's operas caused Berlioz to wonder which voices would be most appropriate for the principal roles of these operas. He evoked traditions "which are vanishing daily, without which this music is almost incomprehensible."¹⁸ Through his activities as conductor and concert promoter Berlioz set out to preserve Gluck's dramatic style himself.

On November 25, 1838, he gave a "Grand vocal and instrumental concert" in the Grande Salle des Menus Plaisirs, in which a revised fragment from *Alceste* was played. The program lists it as "Grand scene from Act III of Gluck's *Alceste* sung by M. Alizard, Mlle. d'Hernin and the chorus, and concluding with the final air of Act I." The extracts are shown in the following order:

Récit

Chorus: "Malheureuse où vas-tu?"

Air: "Ah Divinités implacables"

Air: "Où fuir! Où me cacher"¹⁹

Air: "Caron t'appelle!"

Air: "Ombres! Larves!"²⁰

The program offers a note on the air "Où fuir! Où me cacher": "This piece belongs to the Italian *Alceste* and has never been heard in Paris."²¹ The air of the God of Hades

"Caron t'appelle!" and the air "Ombres!, larves!," on the other hand, were not commented upon. Yet the incipit in French ("Ombres!, larves!") proves that Berlioz had by this time adapted the Italian version of the air "Divinités du Styx" ("Ombre!, larve!") from the French version.²² It is important to observe that the movements of this "grand scene" are in the order found in the Viardot manuscript, with the famous air from Act I to close. Berlioz had already, no doubt, assembled a score of this sequence of pieces.

The "grand scene from Act III of *Alceste*" appeared again on the program of Berlioz's concert announced for February 3, 1844, in the Salle Herz with Mme. Nathan-Treillet and M. Bouché taking part. But this item was not performed, owing to the soprano's illness.²³ On January 19 of the following year, in a "grande fête musicale" presented at the Cirque Olympique, Berlioz conducted a "grand scene from the Italian *Alceste*," sung by Eugénie García (Pauline Viardot's sister-in-law). This was probably the piece later to be No. 2 in the Viardot manuscript. In the following years, no doubt discouraged by the failure of all the singers he had engaged to sing *Alceste*, Berlioz seems to have reverted to the French version of the opera. Thus on March 19, 1850, in the second concert given by the Société Philharmonique (which he founded and conducted), a large portion of Act I was heard with Mlle. Julienne, Arnoldi, and a chorus. The movements were listed in the following order:

- 1 Chorus, "O ciel! qu'allons-nous devenir!"
- 2 Chorus, "Dieu puissant!"
- 3 Religious march
- 4 Oracle scene, "Apollon est sensible à nos gémissements"
- 5 Air (soprano), "Non! ce n'est point un sacrifice!"
- 6 Air (bass), "Déjà la mort s'apprête"
- 7 Air (soprano), "Divinités du Styx!"²⁴

Berlioz conducted an orchestra of 100, while Pierre-Louis Dietsch, later to conduct the revival of *Alceste* at the Opéra in 1861, was in charge of a chorus of 120. It was for this occasion that the *Revue et gazette musicale* reprinted a long extract on Act I of *Alceste*, slightly revised from Berlioz's feuilleton in the *Journal des Débats* of 1835.²⁵ The notice of the concert in the *Revue et gazette musicale* drew attention to the vocal problems posed by the title role. Allowing Mlle. Julienne her "flights of real passion and flashes of inspiration" the critic observed that her voice was "very strong in the top range but lacking in tone in the middle." On Berlioz's conducting he wrote: "You have to have Berlioz's profound grasp of this music to be able to conduct with such precision, assurance and lucid intelligence."²⁶

(N° 1.)

Lent

Hautbois C - - - -

Clarinette C - - - -

Bassons D^{\flat} - - - -

Violons C p $\text{col. 1} = \text{V}^{\flat}$

Altos C p

Alceste C - - - -

V^ccelli D^{\flat} col. C. Ande

C. Bass D^{\flat} p

Ms. autographe d'Hector Berlioz

Cette version de la scène d'Alceste de l'opéra qui unit l'Alceste italienne et l'Alceste française, a été vraisemblablement établie pour Pauline Viardot. Le Ms. a été tenu par Paul Viardot à la dernière de ses parties.

To turn to details of the manuscript:

No. 1 [Récitatif d'Alceste] "Grands dieux soutenez mon courage" [Act III, scene 3, French version].

No. 2 [Récitatif d'Alceste] "Qui me parle?" [Act II, scene 2, Italian version, translated into French].

The adaptation of this scene represents the most substantial revision Berlioz made to the score of *Alceste*. The idea for this change goes back to at least 1834, since in the second part of the article on Gluck which he published in the *Gazette musicale de Paris* on June 8 of that year Berlioz deplored the omission, in the French version, of the aria "Chi mi parla?". This is the piece to be found in Act II, scene 2 of the Italian version.²⁷ Not only did Berlioz praise the quality of this aria but he also quoted the opening words with a proposed translation: "Qui me parle!... que vois-je!...où fuir!...je brûle...je gèle...je meurs...etc."²⁸ The insertion of this piece in the French version had the further advantage of strengthening the dramatic character of Act III, which Gluck's contemporaries, chief among them Rousseau, regarded (as Berlioz well knew) as the weakest.²⁹ A few years later, in the article "De l'instrumentation" which he devoted to the violins, Berlioz gave, as an example of the sensible use of mutes "for light and rapid passages or for accompaniments in headlong rhythm," the "sublime monologue" from the Italian *Alceste* "Chi mi parla?".³⁰

Some annotations made by Berlioz in two copies of *Alceste* in the Bibliothèque du Conservatoire, Paris, first remarked upon by Julien Tiersot,³¹ are probably later than 1834-1835. In the copy of the Italian version Berlioz's markings relate only to the aria "Chi mi parla?," which was to be transferred to the French version.³²

No. 3 Choeur de dieux infernaux invisibles [Act III, scene 3, French version].

In addition to wanting to transpose the "Choeur de dieux infernaux invisibles" down a minor third, as already mentioned, Berlioz had a further reason to recopy this movement. This is revealed by the brief correspondence with François Delsarte from 1857 on the subject of the trombone parts of this chorus.³³ Delsarte had just published the chorus in question in his *Archives du chant*,³⁴ scrupulously preserving the incorrectly engraved trombone parts as he found them in the French version.³⁵ In his letter of April 30, 1857, in which he provided Delsarte with the proof of his mistake, Berlioz also revealed that in his curiosity concerning the difference between what he

heard on stage and what he read in the score he had made an enquiry of Lefebvre, head of the Opéra's copying bureau (this was probably in 1825 or 1826) which confirmed that the trombone parts then in use were correctly copied.

The air for Alceste "Grand dieux soutenez mon courage," which follows the chorus "Malheureuse où vas-tu?," was published by Delsarte transposed down a third. This chorus is thus in D minor, as in the Viardot manuscript. The transposition may perhaps be explained by the fact that Pauline Viardot was at this time taking part in concerts organized by Delsarte.³⁶

No. 4 Air [Alceste] "Ah! divinités implacables" [Act III, scene 3, French version].

Berlioz's interest in this air springs from the match of vocal expression and instrumental support, as he explained in his chapter on clarinets in his series of articles "De l'instrumentation": "Here again, in this deeply sorrowful and resigned air for Alceste, 'Ah! Divinités implacables', it is the clarinets who sing with the voice."³⁷

No. 5 Air [Un dieu infernal] "Caron t'appelle" [Act III, scene 4, French version].

The inclusion of an air for the God of Hades in this manuscript, which is otherwise devoted to the role of Alceste, is explained by the orchestral effect of placing the bells of two horns against each other. This effect, which is not found in any source before Berlioz, is certainly one of the earliest to have fired the composer's imagination. In his *Mémoires* Berlioz tells us that the lives of Gluck and Haydn which he read at the age of fourteen in Michaud's *Biographie universelle* "threw him into a state of feverish agitation."³⁸ In a footnote in the article on Gluck, Delaunaye, its author, wrote: "When, for the accompaniment of this air, he could not get sufficiently muffled and lugubrious sounds from the instruments by the usual means, it is said that in rehearsal he thought up the idea of aligning pairs of horns in such a way that the sound of both instruments would collide in the bell and produce the terrifying effect he wanted."³⁹ Berlioz recalled the application of this effect in his study of *Alceste* in the *Journal des Débats* in 1835.⁴⁰ When he came to discuss the use of horns in his articles on instrumentation, Berlioz naturally cited the three horn notes imitating Charon's conch in the air from Alceste "Caron t'appelle" as "a stroke of genius," referring to the effect of two horns lined up against each other.⁴¹ He came back to this effect in his extended

analysis of *Alceste* in 1861.⁴² In the Viardot manuscript Berlioz clung to a tradition which he believed was lost and of which no trace is to be found in the orchestral material preserved at the Opéra.

No. 6 Air [*Alceste*] "Divinités du Styx"/ "Ombres, larves" [Act I, scene 7, Italian version translated and superimposed on the French version].

On the first beat of measures 1, 3, 10, 12, and 14 Berlioz has carefully inserted "p." In measure 33 he changed the "andante un poco" of the French version to "un poco meno mosso." In measure 48 he added "ff" and in measure 51 "1r mouvement un peu animé."

This air, in the French version, was the subject of a critical discussion by Berlioz. It concerns the alteration of dramatic emphasis caused by Du Rouillet's clumsy adaptation of Calzabigi's libretto. The effect of the declamatory note in the trombone parts of the Italian version is destroyed by this alteration, a criticism Berlioz articulated for the first time in his article in the *Gazette musicale de Paris* on June 8, 1834. In support of what turns out to be a veritable lesson in dramatic composition he inserted a musical example which combines the texts of the Italian and French versions.⁴³ In 1838, as we have seen, he replaced the words "Divinités du Styx, ministres de la mort" with a French translation of the Italian words: "Ombres, compagnes de la mort," a solution he advocated until 1861 and which was adopted by Pauline Viardot.

While Berlioz devoted many years to the problems of restoring the works of the composer who for him equalled Beethoven in importance, we should also recognize Pauline Viardot's lifelong interest in Gluck. A plan to revive *Alceste* was mooted by the management of the Opéra at the same time that it was decided to revive *Orphée* at the Théâtre Lyrique in 1859, perhaps before. This is the conclusion we may draw from a letter of June 20, 1859, in which Berlioz noted that there was "talk of unstaging (*démonter*) Gluck's *Alceste*."⁴⁴ The ironical use of the word *démonter* implies that there was already a plan afoot to revise the score. Pauline Viardot probably began this work herself before the first performance of *Orphée* at the Théâtre Lyrique on November 19, 1859. In a letter which can be dated to the end of October 1859⁴⁵ Saint-Saëns wrote to the singer: "Don't forget to consult the Italian score of *Alceste*; you might find some valuable changes there since the role is lower than in the French score." Saint-Saëns seems to have been steering Pauline Viardot towards a solution which Berlioz had adopted for *Orphée*: adapt the role of Orpheus for the singer's voice

by combining the Italian and French versions. In the case of *Alceste* such a solution could not be justified. In the two versions of *Orphée* the title role is written for voices which were obsolete in the nineteenth century, namely the alto castrato and the haute-contre. The same problem did not arise with *Alceste* despite the differences between the two versions of the title role, both conceived for a soprano. In this case it was simply the limitations of a low voice, that of Pauline Viardot, which made transposition necessary. The adaptation was therefore done for a special occasion and was not motivated by an original tessitura no longer practicable. Nonetheless, a few months after the revival of *Orphée* in which Berlioz took a more central part than he was prepared to admit, he was ready to get to work on *Alceste*. This emerges from a letter to Pauline Viardot of March 12, 1860. Grumbling at having to write a notice of Poniatowski's *Pierre de Médicis*, first heard at the Opéra three days before, he admits: "One thing would have appealed to me to do today, and that is the copying and transposing of the pieces from *Alceste*; and I can't do it."⁴⁶

Then a year later, on March 10, 1861, Pauline Viardot and the bass Félix Cazaux sang some extracts from *Alceste* in a memorable concert given by the Société des Concerts du Conservatoire. The order of the program was:

1 Religious march and High Priest's air "Dieu puissant, écarte du trône" (Act I, scene 3)

2 Alceste's air "Immortel Apollon," mime scene for the sacrifice, High Priest's recitative "Apollon est sensible," oracle and chorus (Act I, scene 4)

3 Alceste's recitative "Où suis-je" and air "Non! ce n'est point un sacrifice" (Act I, scene 5)

4 Chorus "Tant de grâces," recitative "Dérobez-moi vos pleurs," and Alceste's air "Ah! malgré moi" (Act II, scene 4)

5 Alceste's recitative "Grands dieux! soutenez mon courage" and the aria "Qui me parle? que répondre?" adapted from the Italian version, chorus of the Gods of Hades "Malheureuse où vas-tu?" and air "Ah, divinités implacables!" (Act III, scene 3)

6 "Caron t'appelle" (Act III, scene 4)

7 Alceste's air "Divinités du Styx" (Act I, scene 7)

Berlioz's notice of the concert⁴⁷ deserves close attention. His principal criticism was directed at Cazaux's transposition of the role of the High Priest. As Hugh Macdonald has observed, Berlioz does not actually condemn the transposition. He simply considers that once it became inevitable it could have been done more skillfully. This supports the notion that Berlioz was not against transposition in principle, if this was the price of reviving a work which had been ignored since 1826. At the same time the inclusion of the aria "Chi mi parla?" from the Italian version placed within Act III of the French version, the final air of Act I in the French version closing the concert, and Berlioz's precise and enthusiastic evocation of Pauline Viardot's voice ("full and spacious singing, intense, powerful and faithful")⁴⁸ are sufficient indication that the interpretation was already in line with Berlioz's work on the opera as in the Viardot manuscript. An argument against this hypothesis lies in the fact that in the same concert Pauline Viardot sang some parts of *Alceste* that are not found in the manuscript Berlioz prepared for her, but which were to be subject to transposition when the work was revived at the Opéra, as we can see from Escudier's edition. In other words, if the Viardot manuscript was written for the Société des Concerts occasion, why does it include only scenes 3 and 4 of Act III and scene 7 of Act I? The answer is clear: it is because the main revisions and rectifications which Berlioz had wanted to introduce since 1834 and which we have noted in our examination of the Viardot manuscript are concerned with these movements only, namely the insertion of the aria "Chi mi parla?," translated, in the French version; the correction of the trombone parts in the chorus of Gods of Hades "Malheureuse où vas-tu?"; the acoustic effect of placing two horns bell-to-bell in the air of the God of Hades "Caron t'appelle"; and finally the restoration of the Italian version of the air "Ombres, larves" adapted at the beginning of the air "Divinités du Styx" in the French Version.

Another source supports this argument: a volume found in the Bibliothèque de l'Opéra, Paris, entitled "Alceste/Remise á la Scène pour/Me Viardot/le Lundi 21 octobre/1861."⁴⁹ This copyist's score includes the ballet music from Act II in a revised order and all the same changes in Alceste's part in Act III as are found in the Viardot manuscript.⁵⁰

All this reflects on the importance of the Viardot manuscript as a synthesis of Berlioz's thoughts on *Alceste* over some forty years. This manuscript not only reveals Berlioz's efforts to safeguard Gluck's intentions but it was also the means whereby one of the greatest dramatic mezzo-sopranos of the nineteenth century was able to shine in a role which still remains one of the finest in the repertoire.

¹ A. Cortot to A. Boschot, A.L.S., May 7, 1943, Thierry Bodin, "Les Autographes, catalogue No. 52, November 1992, lot No. 55." We shall refer to the manuscript hereafter as the "Viardot manuscript."

Pauline Viardot (Paris 1821-1910), mezzo-soprano, composer, and singing teacher; daughter of Manuel García and sister of María Malibran. She studied the piano with Meyseberg and Liszt and composition with Reicha; she married Louis Viardot in 1840. She was interested in Gluck from an early age since in one of her first Paris concerts in 1839 she sang some extracts from the role of Euridice in *Orphée* and received an unfavorable notice from Berlioz. Her singing career reached its peak in 1859 at the Théâtre-Lyrique with her interpretation of the role of Orphée revised especially for her by Berlioz. See Joël-Marie Fauquet, "Berlioz's Version of Gluck's *Orphée*," *Berlioz Studies*, ed. Peter Bloom (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 189-253.

² Paul Viardot (1857-1941), son of Pauline Viardot, violinist, conductor, and writer on music.

³ I wish to express my sincere thanks to Dr. Hugh Macdonald for his support and collaboration with the present work and to Dr. Marie Rolf Lehman for her invaluable help in tracing the manuscript.

⁴ The pagination duplicates the number 18. Pages 76, 77, 78 (numbered 79), and 79 are blank. The signature "H. Berlioz" appears at the foot of page 79 on the right.

⁵ By "Italian version" and, in the notes, "1769 edition," we refer to the original version composed by Christoph Willibald Gluck to a libretto by Ranieri de' Calzabigi, first performed in Vienna on December 26, 1767 (full score Vienna: G. T. Trattner, 1769); by "French version" and, in the notes, "1776 edition," we refer to Gluck's revised version of a libretto by Louis Leblanc, bailli du Roulet, first performed in Paris on April 23, 1776 (full score Paris: Au Bureau d'Abonnement musical, [1776]). Alceste's recitative "Grand dieux soutenez mon courage" is in the 1776 edition, p. 200.

⁶ 1769 edition, p. 91.

⁷ Berlioz translated the title of the movement from that of the 1769 edition: "Coro de Numi Infernali non veduto."

⁸ 1776 edition, p. 208.

⁹ 1776 edition, p. 210.

¹⁰ 1776 edition, p. 230.

¹¹ 1769 edition, p. 66; 1776 edition, p. 84.

¹² Seule Edition conforme à la représentation /ALCESTE/ Opéra en trois Actes/Musique de/ Gluck/accompagnement de Piano/ par/ E. Vauthrot [...] Paris, Editeur, Léon Escudier. Plate number L.E.2047.

¹³ H. Berlioz, "Gluck," *Gazette musicale de Paris* [G.M.P.,] no. 22 (June 1, 1834): 173-76; no. 23 (June 8, 1834): 181-85.

¹⁴ H. Berlioz, "L'*Alceste* d'Euripide, celles de Quinault et de Calsabigi; les partitions de Lulli, de Gluck, de Schweizer et de Guglielmi sur ce sujet" [six articles], *Journal des Débats* [J.D.] (October 12, 16, 20, November 6, 24, December 8, 1861).

¹⁵ H. Berlioz, *A travers chants*, ed. L. Guichard (Paris: Gründ, 1971), pp. 155-222.

¹⁶ H. Berlioz, "Des deux *Alcestes* de Gluck," *J.D.* (October 16 and 23, 1835).

¹⁷ Théâtre de l'Opéra, *Journal*, vol. VIII (1811-1850): unpaginated. First and only performance of the eighth revival of the work.

¹⁸ H. Berlioz, "Du répertoire de Gluck à l'Académie royale de musique," *Le Monde dramatique* (July 18, 1835): 180-81.

¹⁹ The incipit given in the program is the third line of *Alceste*'s aria which begins
Chi mi parla? Che rispondo?
Ah, che veggo? Ah, che spavento!
Ove fuggo, ove m'ascondo [etc].

²⁰ The concert program is given in H. Berlioz, *Correspondance générale*, II (Paris: Flammarion, 1975), p. 471, note 1 to letter no. 582 to François Réty dated November between 20 and 23, 1838.

²¹ The indisposition of Mlle. d'Hennin caused this extract from *Alceste* to be postponed until Berlioz's concert of December 16, when it was sung by Mme. Stoltz. Nevertheless in his notice of the Société des Concerts' concert of March 10, 1861, in which extracts from *Alceste* were sung by Mme. Viardot and Cazaux, Berlioz wrote that "a fragment of the Italian *Alceste*, which was sung in this memorable matinée, was being performed in Paris for the first time." *J.D.* (March 26, 1861).

²² See below, no. 6. The programs for both concerts on November 25 and December 16 indicate as follows: "Nota. This air is the one performed in French as 'Divinités du Styx.' Since the translator disfigured the opening phrase, the first line has been changed in order to

restore the beautiful vocal line which Gluck originally conceived." F-Pn, Fonds Montpensier, Berlioz IV, A529.

²³ See "Concert de M. H. Berlioz," *R.G.M.P.*, no. 6 (February 11, 1844): 43.

²⁴ *R.G.M.P.*, no. 10 (March 10, 1850): 84.

²⁵ See above note 16. Partially reproduced, with revisions in the *R.G.M.P.*, no. 11 (March 17, 1850): 92 and 93. The most important change with regard to the present article is the following: in 1835 Berlioz had written "I believe this prodigious piece [*Divinités du Styx*] to be the most complete demonstration of Gluck's powers." In 1850 "prodigious piece" was changed to "Act I."

²⁶ "Société philharmonique. Deuxième concert [...]," *R.G.M.P.*, no. 12 (March 24, 1850): 99.

²⁷ See above, note 5.

²⁸ *G.M.P.*, no. 23, June 8, 1834.

²⁹ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, "Fragments d'observation sur l'Alceste italien de M. le chevalier Gluck," *Ecrits sur la musique*, ed. Catherine Kintzler (Paris: Stock, 1979), p. 386.

³⁰ H. Berlioz, "De l'instrumentation" (second article), *R.G.M.P.*, November 28, 1841, p. 529. See H. Berlioz, *De l'instrumentation*, ed. J.-M. Fauquet (Bègles: Le Castor Astral, 1994), p. 35. Included in the *Grand traité d'instrumentation et d'orchestration modernes* (Paris: Schonenberger, [1844]), p. 24.

³¹ Julien Tiersot, "Berlioziana," *Le Ménestrel*, (February 11, 1906): 44. These copies of the 1769 and 1776 editions annotated by Berlioz, referred to by Tiersot by their earlier call numbers, are now in F-Pn with the call numbers D.4706 (the 1769 edition) and Rés. F 1107 (the 1776 edition).

³² 1769 edition, p. 95. A pencilled cross at the end of the aria and in the margin before the chorus (in Berlioz's hand): "Française X" "Allez à B = Française." Then at the reprise of the "Coro de Numi infernali" ("Altro non puoi raccogliere"): "B=."

³³ Delsarte to Berlioz, April 28, 1857, in H. Berlioz, *Correspondance générale*, V (Paris: Flammarion, 1989), letter no. 2226, pp. 457 ff.; Berlioz to Delsarte, April 30, 1857, op. cit., letter no. 2228, pp. 460 ff. The letter from Berlioz which prompted this exchange has not been traced.

³⁴ *Archives du chant* recueillies et publiées par François Delsarte, VIIe livraison, no. 12.

³⁵ 1776 edition, pp. 208-9.

³⁶ Mme. Viardot sang in Delsarte's concerts many times from 1856 on, and also in the

classical and historical concerts put on by Lebouc and Paulin.

³⁷ H. Berlioz, "De l'instrumentation" (fifth article), *R.G.M.P.* (December 19, 1841): 568. See H. Berlioz *De l'instrumentation*, ed. cit. (1994), p. 58, and *Grand traité d'instrumentation et orchestration modernes* (1844), p. 147.

³⁸ H. Berlioz, *Mémoires*, ed. Citron (Paris: Flammarion, 1991), p. 52.

³⁹ Delaulnaye, article "Gluck" in C. G. Michaud, *Biographie universelle ancienne et moderne* [...], XVII (Paris: Michaud, 1816), p. 519, col 1.

⁴⁰ H. Berlioz, "Des deux Alcestes de Gluck (Deuxième et dernier article)," *J.D.* (October 23, 1835): 2, col. 3.

⁴¹ H. Berlioz, "De l'instrumentation" (seventh article), *R.G.M.P.* (January 9, 1842): 11. See H. Berlioz, *De l'instrumentation*, ed. cit. (1994), p. 73, and *Grand traité d'instrumentation et orchestration modernes* (1844), p. 183.

⁴² *J.D.*, fifth article (November 23, 1861). *A travers chants* (1971), p. 210.

⁴³ H. Berlioz, "Gluck," *G.M.P.*, no. 23 (June 8, 1834): 182.

⁴⁴ Berlioz to the Princess Sayn-Wittgenstein, *Correspondance générale*, V, letter no. 2380, p. 693.

⁴⁵ F-Pn, Manuscrits N.a.fr. 16273 (19). In the same letter Saint-Saëns followed Berlioz in refusing Pauline Viardot's invitation to "orchestrate the air from *Orphée*." Since the letter in which Berlioz refused the same invitation was dated by Lesure and Macdonald October 20, 1859 (*Correspondance générale*, VI (Paris: Flammarion, 1995), letter no. 2417) Saint-Saëns's letter must have been written soon thereafter.

⁴⁶ H. Berlioz, *Correspondance générale*, VI, letter no. 2490.

⁴⁷ H. Berlioz, "Concert du Conservatoire," *J.D.* (March 26, 1861).

⁴⁸ *J.D.* (March 26, 1861): 2, col. I.

⁴⁹ F-Po, A 237 h.

⁵⁰ These are: No. 1, "Grands dieux, soutenez mon courage"; No. 2 "Qui me parle? rue répondre?"; No. 3, chorus "Malheureuse où vas-tu"; No. 4, Ah! divinités implacables"; recitative and duetto, etc.